

MEDIÆVAL SERMON-BOOKS AND STORIES AND THEIR STUDY SINCE 1883.

By T. F. CRANE.

(Read April 12, 1917.)

Just thirty-four years ago (March 16, 1883) I had the honor of presenting to the American Philosophical Society a paper on "Mediæval Sermon-Books and Stories." The hospitable reception of this paper determined the subsequent scholarly career of the writer, and opened up a new field of investigation to the student of mediæval culture. It has seemed to me not inappropriate at this time to express to the Society my grateful appreciation of its encouragement, and to trace as briefly as possible the progress of studies in this field since the presentation of the paper in question. That the influence of this paper was so much greater in Europe than in this country may be explained by the difficulty of obtaining materials for such studies in American libraries. The incunabula used by me in the preparation of my paper were collected in an unusually short time, and I did not make use of European libraries until after 1883.¹

¹ The paper was reviewed at length in the following scientific journals: *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1883, No. 12 (E. Stengel); *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, N. F. (1884), XVI., 286 (P. Strauch); *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, IV. (1884), p. 269; *Romania*, XII. (1883), p. 416; *Mélusine*, II. (1885), No. 23 (H. Gaidoz). I mentioned my predecessors in the field, Thomas Wright and Karl Goedeke, and should have given greater credit to Hermann Oesterley, who in his editions of Pauli's "Schimpf und Ernst," 1866, Kirchhof's "Wendunmuth," 1869, and "Gesta Romanorum," 1872, showed himself a master of this field of study. But, unfortunately, his erudition is confined to the comparative notes and not displayed in any general work. His innumerable references to mediæval sermon-books and stories were of great use to me in all my studies. The impetus to my work was given by Goedeke's article, "Asinus vulgi" in Benfey's "Orient und Occident," 1861, and Thomas Wright's mention of the subject in the introduction to "A Selection of Latin Stories," Percy Society, Vol. VIII., 1842. I do not know how I overlooked this writer's essay "On the History and Transmission

The history of the study of this field is an interesting one and goes back a little over a century. In 1812, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, then obscure officials of the royal library at Cassel, published the first volume of their immortal "Kinder- und Hausmärchen," which was completed three years later. Fairy tales had been collected much earlier in Italy and France, but the Grimms' collection was the first one made by scholars for a scientific purpose. The editors were especially interested in finding that their stories contained features in common with the Northern mythology. As their investigations broadened, however, they discovered that

of Popular Stories" in the second volume, pp. 51-81, of "Essays on Subjects connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages," London, 1846. The use of illustrative stories in sermons, and collections of these stories for the use of preachers, are mentioned at some length. The "Promptuarium Exemplorum," and John of Bromyard are named among others. It was not until recently that my attention was called to what is probably the earliest mention of Jacques de Vitry and the use of *exempla*. It occurs in F. W. V. Schmidt's edition of the "Disciplina clericalis," Berlin, 1827. In speaking of the story of Aristotle and Alexander's wife, Schmidt says, p. 106, "Zuerst aber brachte ihn Jacobus de Vitriaco zu Anfange des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts aus dem Morgenlande. Als Bischof von Ptolemais war er besonders geeignet zum Vermittler des Orients und Occidents, indem er seine letzten Tage in Rome verlebte." The story in question Schmidt quotes from Discipulus (Herolt), "Promptuarium Exemplorum," "ut dicit magister Jacobus de Vitriaco." This story is not in the "Sermones vulgares," but is in the "Sermones communes" recently edited by Frenken and Greven. Schmidt cites the "Speculum Exemplorum" several times and frequently mentions Herolt, saying of his "Promptuarium," "Eine unerschöpfliche Schatzkammer von geistlichen und moralischen Historien und Märchen. Wahrscheinlich bestimmt als Anweisung für Kindererzieher zu einer belehrenden Unterhaltung." After Wright and Goedeke there was no general reference to the subject until the histories of French and German preaching by Lecoy de la Marche, 1868, and Cruel (1879). The latter was especially useful on account of its detailed description of the materials employed by German preachers. No conspectus of the entire field appeared until 1890, when the writer's "Jacques de Vitry" was published at London for the Folk-Lore Society. The introduction to this work may be considered an enlargement of the paper presented to the American Philosophical Society. My own library had grown extensively in the seven years which had elapsed between 1883 and 1890, and I had been able to consult European libraries on several occasions. Subsequent works in this field have modified slightly some of my statements in the introduction to "Jacques de Vitry," but I am not aware that I overlooked any important materials accessible before 1890, with the exception of a few works which I shall examine in the course of this supplementary paper.

these features were contained in the popular tales of the other nations of Europe. The Grimms were essentially philologists and applied to their *märchen* the methods of comparative philology which had grown out of the revival of Sanscrit studies by Sir William Jones, Franz Bopp and Theodor Benfey.

The theory that the popular tales of Europe were related as were the languages in which they were narrated, both going back to a period in which the Aryan peoples were supposed to have had a common language and mythology, broke down, so far as the popular tales were concerned, when they were found to be essentially the same as those of non-Aryan peoples, and the favorite theory of diffusion from India in historic times was weakened by the discovery of popular tales in the tombs of ancient Egypt.

The question of the origin of popular tales has from the first been connected with that of mythology, and the further question of their diffusion has depended largely upon the view of their origin. If the popular tales were part of the mythology of the Aryan nations, then their diffusion could be explained by the dispersion of those nations into the different parts of Europe.

If, on the other hand, popular tales were merely a branch of entertaining literature, largely of Oriental origin, then in order to explain their extraordinary diffusion in Europe and elsewhere, it was necessary to discover the channels of transmission, literary or oral, which conveyed these tales over such an amazing expanse of territory.

The theory of the origin of popular tales in India and their transmission, largely through literary works, in historic times, has always been a favorite one in Germany, owing chiefly to the epoch-making translation of the "Pantschatantra" by Theodor Benfey, the introduction to which connected the tales of India with those of Europe.

In England, at a later date, the theory of the origin of popular tales has been connected with the anthropological studies of Tylor, Frazer and Lang, and again become a part of the mythology of primitive races. Before, however, this latter explanation came into vogue, the interest in the subject was almost wholly confined to the question of the means of transmission. These means, it was claimed, were largely literary and consisted of collections of Indian

stories translated into the various languages of Europe where they enjoyed extraordinary popularity during the middle ages. It was admitted that these tales were also introduced into Europe by oral transmission on the part of travellers, and later by those engaged in the Crusades.

The earliest mention of a peculiar means of oral transmission, that of preachers in their sermons, was made by Thomas Wright (1810-1877), the distinguished English antiquarian, in the introduction to his "Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," Percy Society, Vol. VIII., London, 1842. The collection contains 149 tales from various MSS. in the British Museum. Of these the editor says in his Introduction, p. vi, "No manuscripts are of more frequent occurrence than collections of tales like those printed in the present volume; and we owe their preservation in this form to a custom which drew upon the monks the ridicule of the early reformers. The preachers of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries attempted to illustrate their texts, and to inculcate their doctrines, by fables and stories, which they moralized generally by attaching to them mystical significations. These illustrations they collected from every source which presented itself, the more popular the better, because they more easily attracted the attention of people accustomed to hear them. Sometimes they moralized the jests and satirical anecdotes current among the people—sometimes they adopted the fabliaux and metrical pieces of the jongleurs, or minstrels—and not infrequently they abridged the plots of more extensive romances. Each preacher made collections for his own use—he set down in Latin the stories which he gathered from the mouths of his acquaintance, selected from the collections which had already been made by others, or turned into Latin, tales which he found in a different dress. . . . I am inclined to think that the period at which these collections began to be made was the earlier part of the thirteenth century, and that to that century we owe the compilation in Latin of most of these tales, though the greater number of manuscripts may be ascribed to the fourteenth."

Wright mentions John of Bromyard and the "Promptuarium Exemplorum" and dwells on the importance of these tales for the

light they throw on the private life and domestic manners of "our forefathers." Thirty-six of Wright's stories are from the Harley MS. 463 (fourteenth century), the source of which is not indicated, but which really is an extensive collection of the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry. Wright was unaware of the source of these stories and mentions the name of the famous preacher but once, in a note to story lxxxiii, "Promptuarium Exemplorum (quoted from Jacobus de Vitriaco)."

A few years later Wright returned to the subject in an essay "On the History and Transmission of Popular Stories" in "Essays on Subjects Connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages," London, 1846, Vol. II., pp. 51-81, Essay xii. The writer dwells on the introduction into Europe of eastern stories by the jongleurs (citing as illustrations the stories of the "Hunchback," "Weeping Dog," etc.). He mentions the great Oriental story-books and says, p. 61, "Their popularity was increased by another circumstance which has tended, more than anything else, to preserve a class of the mediæval stories, which were less popular as fabliaux, down to the present time. In the twelfth century there arose in the church a school of theologians, who discovered in everything a meaning symbolical of the moral duties of man, or of the deeper mysteries of religion. . . . In the thirteenth century these stories with moralizations were already used extensively by the monks in their sermons, and each preacher made collections in writing for his own private use. . . . The mass of these stories are of the kind we have described above, and are evidently of Eastern origin; but there are also some which are mere mediæval applications of classic stories and abridged romances, while others are anecdotes taken from history, and stories founded on the superstitions and manners of the people of western Europe. Not only were these private collections of tales with moralizations, as we have just observed, very common in the fourteenth century, but several industrious writers undertook to compile and publish larger and more carefully arranged works for the use of preachers, who might not be so capable of making selections for themselves. Among these the most remarkable are the 'Promptuarium Exem-

plorum,' the 'Summa Predecantium' of John of Bromyard, the 'Repertorium Morale' of Peter Berchorius, and some others."

The subject received no further attention until 1861, when an important article by Karl Goedeke (1814-1887), the famous historian of German literature, was published in Benfey's periodical, *Orient und Occident*, Vol. I. (Göttingen, 1861), pp. 531-560. The article in question, "Asinus vulgi," is a study of the origin and diffusion of the well-known fable of the father and son who ride their ass alternately without satisfying the critical public (La Fontaine, III. 1, "Le meunier, son fils et l'âne"). This fable is found in the "Scala Celi" of Johannes Junior (Gobius), Ulm, 1480, fol. 135, where it is introduced by the words: "Refert Jacobus de Vitriaco." It is a curious fact that this particular fable, which led Goedeke to speak of Jacques de Vitry, is not found in the two collections of sermons belonging to that prelate, but is one of the many stories in circulation attributed to him on what authority we do not know. In the article in question Goedeke emphasizes the importance of Bromyard's work: "Kaum irgend ein andres Werk des Mittelalters ist so reich an Fabeln und Geschichten als das seinige, und kaum ein anderes von dieser Bedeutung so wenig gekannt." A little later he says: "Die Exempla, auf die sich Bromyard beruft, sind kein aufs geratewohl gebrauchter Ausdruck, sondern ein wirklich vorhandenes für die Verbreitung der orientalischen Fabeln und Geschichten ins Abendland sehr wichtiges Werk, das Speculum Exemplorum des Jacobus de Vitriaco." He calls Jacques de Vitry: "einen der Hauptcanäle, durch welche orientalische Sagen nach Europa kamen." Goedeke then gives some twenty-five *exempla* from the Harley MS. 463, used by Wright in his "Latin Stories," which by comparison with the stories in the "Scala Celi" is shown to contain many *exempla* by Jacques de Vitry. He thus shows the importance of the mysterious "Speculum Exemplorum" of Jacques de Vitry, a veritable "Verlorene Handschrift," for which he had sought in vain. It is strange that it did not occur to Goedeke to examine the sermons of Jacques de Vitry, the existence of which at Paris and elsewhere he knew.

In his later book, "Every-Man, Homulus und Hekastus," Hannover, 1865, he returns to the subject and says: "Einen der Haupt-

kanäle, durch welche die Sagen des Orients nach Europa flossen, hat die Forschung bisher fast unbeachtet gelassen. Es sind die kirchlichen Schriftsteller des Mittelalters, zum Theil auch die älteren Patres, die für die Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte nicht vorzugsweise von Wichtigkeit erschienen." He does not have occasion to mention Jacques de Vitry, but cites a large number of mediæval writers containing *exempla*, and displays a wide knowledge of individual authors, but nowhere gives any general view of the subject.

In 1868 appeared A. Lecoy de la Marche's "La chaire française au moyen âge" (second edition corrected and enlarged, Paris, 1886), in which was given for the first time an adequate account of the use of *exempla* in French sermons of the thirteenth century, and of the importance of Jacques de Vitry's "Sermones vulgares" for this field of study. A similar work dealing with the twelfth century, "La chaire française au XIIe siècle d'après les manuscrits," was published by the Abbé L. Bourgoïn in 1879. This period is not so interesting for the study of *exempla* as the succeeding century, when the systematic use of *exempla* in sermons began to prevail. In the same year appeared R. Cruel's "Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter," Detmold, 1879. This admirable work, to which I was greatly indebted in my paper on "Mediæval Sermon-Books and Stories," is especially full in its treatment of homiletic treatises.²

Although the use of illustrative stories in sermons was treated at some length in the three works just mentioned, the first collection of such stories to be published was not taken from sermons, but from a homiletic treatise for the use of preachers, the "Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus ordinatis et distinctis in septem partes, secundum septem dona Spiritus sancti," by Étienne de Bourbon, a Dominican who died at Lyons about 1261.³ The extracts

² A few years earlier than Cruel's work appeared Wilhelm Wackernagel's "Altdutsche Predigten und Gebete aus Handschriften," Basel, 1876. He mentions Honorius of Autun's "Speculum Ecclesiæ," but not the *exempla* contained in it. He alludes also to symbolism and "Predigtmärlein," although very briefly, and names Herolt and Bromyard alone in their class of writings. Another German work in this field appeared in the same year as my paper: "Kulturgeschichtliches aus deutschen Predigten des Mittelalters," by Dr. H. Rinn, Hamburg, 1883. He mentions "Predigtmärlein" very briefly.

³ This statement that Lecoy de la Marche's edition of Étienne de Bourbon

from this work published by A. Lecoy de la Marche in 1877 for the Société de l'Histoire de France under the title: "Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIII^e siècle," gave a great impulse to the study of *exempla*. The connection of the author with Jacques de Vitry, many of whose *exempla* he has preserved in his treatise, and the interesting character of the stories themselves, combined to make the book attractive and to increase the interest in the subject.⁴

The only other collection of *exempla* published before 1890 was the "Recull de eximplis. Biblioteca catalana," Barcelona, 1881-88. I was able to use the first volume only for my paper on "Mediæval Sermon-Books and Stories," but in my introduction to Jacques de Vitry I had the second volume also and was fortunate enough to discover the original of the collection, which was the "Alphabetum narrationum," formerly ascribed to Étienne de Besançon, but probably by Arnold of Liège.⁵

Such was the condition of studies in this field when my edition of the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry was published for the Folk-Lore Society at London in 1890. It is the purpose of this paper to show that the first collection of *exempla* to be published in modern times should be modified somewhat in view of Thomas Wright's "Latin Stories," 1842, which were taken from "Jacques de Vitry" (although Wright did not know this), and from the homiletic treatises and collections of Bromyard, Herolt, etc. The collection of "Predigtmärlein," by Pfeiffer, published in 1858 in the *Germania*, III., 407-436, and the extracts, one hundred in number, from the German "Seelentrost," published by K. Frommann in "Die deutschen Mundarten," Nurnberg, 1854, and, finally, the complete Old-Swedish translation of this work, edited by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1871-73, are all anterior to Lecoy de la Marche's "Étienne de Bourbon." These works, however, with the exception of Wright's were little known, and were overlooked by me in my paper of 1883, and even in my later introduction to "Jacques de Vitry."

⁴ In 1889 Lecoy de la Marche published a popular work, "L'Esprit de nos aïeux. Anecdotes et bons mots tirés des manuscrits du XIII^e siècle," containing one hundred and fifty stories translated from the *exempla* of "Jacques de Vitry" (41), "Étienne de Bourbon" (73), and others.

⁵ See Herbert, "Catalogue of Romances," p. 423, and an article by the same writer, "The Authorship of the Alphabetum Narrationum" in *The Library*, N. S., VI. (1905), pp. 94-101. An early English translation of this famous collection was published by Mrs. M. M. Banks for the Early English Text Society, Original Series, 126-7, 1904-5, "An Alphabet of Tales." The third volume of notes, etc., has not yet appeared.

consider briefly the works produced since that date and to estimate the results of study in this field.⁶ I shall divide my materials into treatises on *exempla* in particular localities, collections of *exempla*, and works containing selections of *exempla* (anthologies). All these I shall consider so far as possible in chronological order.⁷

The unity of the Church and its official language produced throughout the Middle Ages a cosmopolitanism which has never prevailed again since the Reformation. The preachers in all the countries of Europe used the same homiletic treatises and drew their illustrative stories from the same sources. It is true that the systematic use of *exempla* arose in France and that the influence of Jacques de Vitry and Étienne de Bourbon was very great; but

⁶ I have already indicated some of the material which I overlooked in my paper of 1883 and my introduction to "Jacques de Vitry's" *exempla*, 1890. It may be well to recapitulate here these omissions and to correct some errors. Of collections of *exempla* accessible before 1883, I overlooked the German "Selentrost" (in "Die deutschen Mundarten," 1854, and Geffcken's "Bildercatechismus des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts," 1855), as well as the Old-Swedish version edited by G. E. Klemming and printed at Stockholm, 1871-73. I was wrong in supposing that the work of Arnoldus cited by Herolt referred to the "Gnotosolitos sive Speculum conscientiæ" by Arnoldus Geilhoven of Rotterdam. Mr. Herbert in his "Catalogue of Romances," p. 437, points out my mistake and shows that the work in question was a treatise on canon law, and that the Arnoldus cited by Herolt was probably the author of the "Alphabetum narrationum," long ascribed to Étienne de Besançon.

Frenken in his "Jacques de Vitry," to be mentioned further on, mentions my omission of two famous German preachers, Geiler von Kaisersberg and Abraham a Sancta Clara, who by their extensive use of *exempla* contributed greatly to the diffusion of these stories. Some of the statements in my introduction require modification in view of materials discovered and printed subsequently, and I shall consider these in the course of this paper.

⁷ As I must necessarily be brief in this paper, I would refer for more lengthy reviews of certain of the works about to be mentioned to articles by me in the following journals: *Modern Philology*, Vol. IX., No. 2, 1911, pp. 225-237, "Mediæval Story-Books," review of Herbert's "Catalogue of Romances," *ibid.*, Vol. X., No. 3, 1913, pp. 301-316, "New Analogues of Old Tales," review of J. Klapper's "Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters," *Romanic Review*, Vol. VI., No. 2, 1915, pp. 219-236, "Recent Collections of Exempla," review of A. Hilka's "Neue Beiträge zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters," J. Th. Welter's "Speculum Laicorum," and J. Greven's and G. Frenken's "Die Exempla des Jakob von Vitry"; and Vol. XXXII., No. 1, 1917, pp. 26-40, review of J. Klapper's "Erzählungen des Mittelalters," *ibid.*, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXVII., No. 7, 1912, pp. 213-216, "The Exemplum in England," review of J. A. Mosher's book.

Caesarius of Heisterbach belongs to Germany and Odo of Cheriton was an Englishman. The use of *exempla* by French and German preachers has been fully treated by Lecoy de la Marche and R. Cruel in the works mentioned above. The history of *exempla* in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages is the subject of a book by Dr. C. G. N. De Vooy: "Middelnederlandsche Legenden en Exempelen. Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Prozalitteratuur en het Volksgeloof der Middeleeuwen," S-Gravenhage, 1900, 8vo, pp. xi, 362. The plan of Dr. De Vooy's book is as follows: The first chapter is devoted to the principal sources of *exempla*: the "Vitæ Patrum," Gregory's "Dialogues," the "Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis," Cæsarius's "Dialogus miraculorum," Thomas Cantimpratensis's "Bonum universale de apibus," Vincent of Beauvais's "Speculum historiale," and Voragine's "Legenda aurea." The second chapter treats of the rise, development and spread of *exempla*, and discusses briefly the use of *exempla* in sermons and their collection in homiletic treatises. The following nine chapters treat of *exempla* classified according to personages, etc.: the Virgin, Jesus, the Devil, the Jews, the Sacrament, Prayer and Confession, and the "Quatuor novissima" (Death, the Judgment, Hell, and Heaven). The last three chapters are devoted to the allegorical element in *exempla*, the influence of mysticism in *exempla*, and moralizing *exempla*.

Dr. De Vooy's book is a convenient résumé of the whole subject, indeed, almost the only one thus far, and he cites a large number of Dutch works, printed and manuscript. The most important of these are certain fifteenth-century treatises containing *exempla* sporadically. They are interesting only as showing the persistence of the *genre* and its wide diffusion.

To trace the history of "The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England" (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1911, 8vo, pp. xi, 150) is the task which Mr. J. H. Mosher has undertaken. The *exemplum* began its course in England in the early translations of Gregory's "Dialogues" and the influence of his "Homilies." Later, some of the most important collections of *exempla* were made by Englishmen, such as Odo of Cheriton, Holkot, Bromyard, the uncertain author of the "Speculum Laicorum," etc. The other classes of *exempla* literature are equally

well represented, and Nicole de Bozon's "Contes moralizés," William of Wadington's "Manuel des Pechiez" and its translation by Robert of Brunne, "Handlyng Synne," are among the most important works of their kind. Two of the works treated rather inadequately by Mr. Mosher have been published since my "Jacques de Vitry," and I may consider them here very briefly out of their chronological order. They are: "Jacob's Well" (ed. Brandeis, Early English Text Society, No. 115, 1900) and John Mirk's "Festial" (ed. Erbe, E. E. T. Soc. Extra Series, No. 96, 1905). The latter, which is earlier in date, was written by a member of the Augustinian canonry of Lilleshul in Shropshire before 1415.⁸ The work consists of seventy-four sermons for the festivals of the ecclesiastical year, with copious use of illustrative stories, many of which (26) are, as would be expected, from the "Legenda Aurea," three only are from the "Vitæ Patrum," usually more freely drawn upon. "The sermons," as Professor Wells says, *op. cit.*, p. 302, "are all intended to provide material for delivery by ill-equipped priests, of whom, says the *Præfatio*, 'mony excuson ham by defaute of bokus and sympulnys of lettrure.' . . . But especially notable is the extensive use of narrative, not merely in the main line of the discourse, but in the hundred or more illustrative *narrationes*. Clearly, unlike Wycliffe and his followers, Mirk approved heartily of employment of tales in preaching, indeed, he directly defends the practice. But he shows control and judgment in use of them. The *narrationes*, sometimes, as many as five in a sermon, are always closely connected with the theme; they are introduced with the declared purpose of enforcing the issue through conviction or stimulation; and, the story ended, the hearers are usually brought back to the point illustrated. The tales vary much in kind; some are over-marvelous, some have local flavor. It is not at all wonderful that these simple pieces of prose full of narrative, caught the popular taste, and that, when the other native collections and cycles were on the wane, these were copied into many MSS., and (unlike any of the other groups), as soon as the press was available, were printed in edition after edition."

⁸ See G. H. Gerould's "Saints' Legends," Boston and New York, 1916, pp. 184, 363, and J. E. Wells's "A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400," New Haven, 1916, pp. 301, 807.

The other work mentioned above, "Jacob's Well," written by an unknown author in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, according to the editor, belongs to the class of allegorical treatises, although it is really a collection of sermons, which seem to have been delivered day by day within the short space of "þis hool tweyne monythys and more," as the author says in the beginning of his last chapter. Mr. Mosher thus describes the work: "A Biblical figure (John iv, 6, *Erat autem ibi fons Jacob*) is expanded into a truly marvellous allegory of the elaborate penitential scheme. A pit of oozy water and mire, representing man's body beset with sins, is to be made into a wholesome well wherein may flow the clear water of Divine Grace. The dirty water, or Great Curse, must first be removed; then the mire, *i. e.*, the seven deadly sins. Next the five water gates, the five senses, must be stopped up. After this the digging must continue until the seven pure springs, the gifts of the Holy Ghost, are reached. Then follows the walling process in which stones, sand, mortar, even the windlass, rope and bucket, are, needless to say, the customary virtues.

"At regular and frequent intervals 'Jacob's Well' has a pair of *exempla* taken mainly from the 'Vitæ Patrum,' 'Jacques de Vitry,' 'Cæsarius,' 'Legenda Aurea,' and legends of the Virgin. The tales are therefore hackneyed, but they are frequently forged into a new glow by the striking diction of the zealous redactor. . . . Of course the stories are uneven; some vivid, others dull; some brief, others elaborate. Though not so numerous, they are generally slightly longer than those in Mirk's 'Festial.' . . . With 'Jacob's Well' the *exemplum* appears to have reached its maximum employment in the religious treatise, just as it did in sermon literature with the contemporary 'Festial' of Mirk."⁹

⁹ Of the eighty-two stories in the fifty chapters published twenty-two are from "Caesarius," four from the "Legenda aurea," five from "Étienne de Bourbon," ten from the "Vitæ Patrum," and twelve from "Jacques de Vitry." The statement on p. 138, "Local color then became occasionally noticeable, though distinctive English characteristics were here, as elsewhere among the floating body of universal tales, sparse," would have been modified if the author had been able to consult the collections analyzed in Herbert's "Catalogue," which will be mentioned in a moment. He would have seen that there are many specifically English stories in the "Speculum Laicorum," etc. A certain number are in the "Liber Exemplorum," edited by Little (see later in this paper), with which Mr. Mosher was acquainted.

One of the most important, certainly the most useful, of the works published in the field of mediæval tales since 1883 is Mr. J. A. Herbert's "Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum," Vol. III., London, 1910, crown 8vo, pp. xii, 720.¹⁰ How extensive the field is with which this volume deals may be judged by the fact that it contains an analysis of one hundred and nine manuscripts and refers to over eight thousand stories, many of which are, of course, frequently repeated. Too much praise cannot be given to the analyses in this and the preceding volumes of the "Catalogue." "In general," as I have said in my review of Mr. Herbert's work in *Modern Philology*, "the stories are without literary form, often they seem mere memoranda for the preacher to expand as he wishes. The scholar who is comparing collections or tracing a particular *exemplum* wishes to know the substance of the story in a concise form, if possible, with references to other manuscripts or printed works. The analyses by the late Mr. Ward and Mr. Herbert are beyond all praise. Especially in the volume before us Mr. Herbert has shown himself profoundly acquainted with the vast and intricate subject of mediæval tales. His references are exact and copious and will save the student an enormous amount of labor." A considerable number of the manuscripts described in this volume have already been printed, wholly or in part (one of the most important, to be mentioned presently, since the "Catalogue" was issued), and are thus fairly well known and accessible to students. A great number of collections, however, were quite unknown, and their contents are now for the first time revealed to scholars, and have widely extended the already

¹⁰ The first and second volumes, edited by the late H. L. D. Ward, were published in 1883 and 1893, and deal, Vol. I., with Classical Romances (Cycle of Troy, Cycle of Alexander, etc.); British and English Traditions (Cycle of Arthur, etc.); French Traditions (Cycle of Charlemagne, etc.); Miscellaneous Romances, and Allegorical and Didactic Romances; Vol. II., with Northern Legends and Tales; Eastern Legends and Tales; Æsopic Fables; Reynard the Fox; Visions of Heaven and Hell; Les Trois Pèlerinages; and Miracles of the Virgin. The last division, filling pp. 586-691, is of particular value for the study of *exempla* and is intimately associated with the subjects treated by Mr. Herbert in Vol. III. The same may be said to a lesser degree in regard to the class of Visions of Heaven and Hell, some of which, the Theophilus legend, for instance, recur so constantly in collections of *exempla*.

enormous field. I shall have occasion to refer frequently to this invaluable work in the remainder of this paper.

The use of *exempla* or illustrative stories is as old as religious instruction itself; but the systematic use of such stories in sermons (to which their great vogue is due) is of comparatively recent date. The influence of Gregory the Great was profound in this direction. In his homilies (before 604), and especially in his dialogues, he employed a large number of legends, and the popularity of the latter work, translated into the various languages of Europe, exercised a powerful influence on later collectors of legends. It was not, however, until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century that the use of *exempla* in sermons became common, owing to the rise of the preaching orders. In my paper of 1883 and in my introduction to "Jacques de Vitry" I ascribed to that distinguished prelate the first systematic use of *exempla* in sermons. I should have modified somewhat this statement if I had seen some works which appeared after my articles, still, even in the light of recent researches I was not far from the truth.¹¹ In giving the priority to

¹¹ My statement, p. xix of my introduction to "Jacques de Vitry," that it was not until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century that the practice of using *exempla* became common, owing to the rise of the preaching orders, was questioned by the late Anton Schönbach in his "Studien zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters," Erster Theil, p. 2. He contents himself by stating that my conclusion so far as French preaching in the twelfth century is concerned is in contradiction with the facts, and refers to Bourgain's "La chaire française au XII^e siècle," pp. 258 et seq. Bourgain nowhere mentions the systematic use of *exempla*; indeed, he never, I believe, uses the word in its technical meaning. He does cite Guibert de Nogent, without place, as to the use of illustrative material. I said in my introduction, p. xix, note, that I could find no reference to *exempla* in Guibert de Nogent's "Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat"; here is the passage quoted by Bourgain; and another I may add. The first is Migne, CLVI., col. 25: "Placere etiam nonnullis comperimus simplices historias, et veterum gesta sermoni inducere, et his omnibus quasi ex diversis picturam coloribus adornare." The second passage is in col. 29: "et per considerationem naturæ illius rei de qua agitur, aliquid allegoriæ vel moralitati conveniens invenitur, sicut de lapidibus gemmariis, de avibus, de bestiis, de quibus quidquid figurate dicitur, non nisi propter significantiam profertur."

Schönbach also cites Honorius of Autun, Werner von Ellerbach, and the collections of German sermons edited by himself and Hoffmann. In Schönbach's collection, Graz, 1886-1891, there are sixteen stories in the first volume, most of them from the "Vitæ Patrum" and Gregory's "Homilies"; in the

Jacques de Vitry I did not take into consideration, however, two other contemporary writers with whose works I subsequently became acquainted. I refer to the sermons of Odo of Cheriton and the homilies of Cæsarius of Heisterbach.

The fables of the former had long been known, but the author to whom they were attributed was, until recently, a mysterious personage, confused with another Kentish ecclesiastical writer, Odo of Canterbury. It is now definitely settled that the Odo of the fables and sermons with which I am now concerned was from Cheriton and died in 1247, seven years after Jacques de Vitry. Some of Odo's fables were published as early as 1834 by Jacob Grimm in his edition of "Reinhart Fuchs," and thirteen were printed by Mone in the following year, while Wright used seventeen in his "Latin Stories." Other German scholars published a considerable number, but the fables were first adequately edited by L. Hervieux in the first edition (1884) of his monumental work, "Les fabulistes latins." In the second edition (1896), both fables and *parabolæ* from the sermons (of which there is only one edition printed at Paris in 1520) were published in a separate, fourth, volume, with an exhaustive examination of the birthplace and life of the author. I am interested at present only in the *exempla* contained in the sermons.¹²

second volume there is one story from Gregory's "Dialogues," and in the third volume there are no stories. In Hoffmann's "Fundgruben," Vol. I., there are only half a dozen stories. In Werner's "Libri Deflorationum," Migne, Vol. CLVII., I do not find *exempla* of any kind, unless the occasional references to animals, birds, fishes and plants moralized in the usual way may be considered *exempla*. On the other hand there are many *exempla* in the "Speculum Ecclesiæ" of Honorius of Autun (who died, it is supposed, shortly after 1152), and I should not have overlooked Cruel's reference on p. 137 of his "Geschichte der deutschen Predigt": "Ausserdem treten die nach Gregor's Beispiel einzeln auch in deutschen Predigten vorkommenden Exempel bei Honorius massenhaft als stehender Schlusstheil auf." Still it is evident that Honorius was an exception; and the statement that the use of *exempla* systematically in sermons was not common until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century is, I still think, correct. There are, of course, many *exempla* to be found sporadically in homiletic treatises and similar works of the second half of the twelfth century, such as Petrus Cantor's "Verbum abbreviatum" (Migne, CCV.), etc.

¹² Hervieux's edition, printed from MS. 16506 of the National Library of Paris, contains 195 *exempla*; the manuscript (Arundel 231) analyzed by Herbert in his "Catalogue," pp. 58-78, contains 201, of which 43 are not in

Their sources are infrequently mentioned: "Vitæ Patrum," four times, Gregory's "Dialogue" three, the "Book of Kings" and "Saint Bernard" once each. As a matter of fact, however, a very large number of the *exempla* are taken from the "Vitæ Patrum." The name of Jacques de Vitry is not mentioned; but many of Odo's *parabolæ* occur in the sermons of the former, and Frenken is inclined to think that Odo borrowed them directly or indirectly from him. The value of Odo's *parabolæ* consists largely in the fact that they are a popular channel through which many stories have entered into circulation, for although there is only one printed edition of the sermons and that of the sixteenth century, there are many manuscripts left to attest their popularity.

In my introduction to "Jacques de Vitry" I did not include among the preachers using *exempla* Cæsarius of Heisterbach, the most delightful perhaps of all the mediæval story-tellers. I was not at that time acquainted with his homilies, of which there is only one edition, a very rare book, by J. A. Coppenstein, printed at Cologne in 1615.¹³ As the "Homilies" were composed between 1222 and

Hervieux. In the sermon for Sexagesima Odo defines the word he uses as follows: "Parabola dicitur a para, quod est juxta, et bole, quod est sententia, quasi juxta sententiam. Parabola enim est similitudo quae ponitur ad sententiam rei comprobendam." Hervieux, p. 111, endeavors to establish a difference between apologues, paraboles and exemples; he says: "En effet, il ne faut pas dans les sermons d'Eudes confondre les apologues ou paraboles avec les exemples; ou, si l'on veut qualifier d'exemples les paraboles, il faut admettre deux sortes d'exemples: ceux qui, contenant le récit d'un fait imaginaire, offrent les caractères de la fable et sont appelés paraboles, et ceux qui se bornent, sans application à aucun cas spécial, à faire mention des habitudes d'une catégorie d'êtres quelconques." He finally ends, p. 112, by confessing that it is safer to consider the exemples as true paraboles and print them all. Frenken in his edition of the *exempla* in the "Sermones communes" of "Jacques de Vitry," to be mentioned later at length, has a chapter on "Die Geschichte des Begriffes 'exemplum,'" in which he connects the word with its use in classical rhetoric, and remarks, p. 14, "Dass man zunächst nach anderen Ausdrücken wie *parabola*, *narratio*, *historia*, suchte, lag wohl nur daran, dass man nicht recht wusste, dass das, was man so in der Predigt erzählte, auch das war, was die Grammatiker exemplum nannten. Die kurzen Erklärungen der Tropen in den Grammatiken wurden mit denselben Beispielen Jahrhunderte lang auswendig gelernt, aber man dachte sich nicht viel dabei."

¹³ I still know this work only through A. Schönbach's masterly "Studien zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters," V., VII., VIII., Vienna, 1902, 1908,

1225, as Schönbach thinks, and Jacques de Vitry's sermons after his residence in Palestine until his death, that is 1227 to 1240, Cæsarius is contemporaneous with Odo of Cheriton and a little earlier than Jacques de Vitry.

I used the "Dialogus Miraculorum" of Cæsarius frequently in my notes, but I did not give any space to this interesting personage in my Introduction, although I might have considered the "Dialogus" as a homiletic treatise, so constantly are they quoted in subsequent sermons and collections of *exempla* made for the use of preachers. The author was born probably a few years before 1180 and educated at St. Andrew's School at Cologne. He entered the Cistercian abbey of Heisterbach, where he became master of the novices and prior, dying about 1240.¹⁴ Besides the "Homilies" mentioned above, Cæsarius was the author of many theological works, some of which have perished and all have been forgotten except the "Dialogus Miraculorum." This popular and interesting work was composed about 1222 (Schönbach dates it 1223-1224, Herbert says it was completed in or very soon after 1222). It is fortunately accessible in a good modern edition by J. Strange, two volumes, Cologne, 1851, and consists of twelve books or *distinc-*

1909, originally published in the *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historisch Classe*, Bd. CXLIV., CLIX., CLXIII. Of the 746 stories in the "Dialogus Miraculorum," 84 are found in the "Homilies," and there are 58 in the "Homilies" not found in the "Dialogus," see Schönbach, I., pp. 69-92; III., pp. 4 et seq. Consequently there are now 142 stories contained in the "Homilies" accessible to students. Cæsarius says in regard to his use of *exempla* (Schönbach, I., p. 20): "Quædam (exempla) inserui aliquantulum subtilius ad exercitium legentium, quædam de Vitis Patrum propter utilitatem simplicium. Nonnulla etiam, quæ nostris temporibus sunt gesta et a viris religiosiis mihi recitata. Hoc pene in omnibus homiliis observare studui, et, quod probare poteram ex divinæ scripturæ sententiis, hoc etiam firmarem exemplis." This use of *exempla* displeased some even at that early date and he omitted them in his later homilies, saying (Schönbach, op. cit., p. 33): "Secrete quidam ea scripsi et secrete legi volui, ipsam expositionem ita ordinans, ut conversis, quibus singulis diebus dominicis aliquid de divinis scripturis, et maxime de evangeliiis, exponi solet, congrueret. Illa enim necessitas occasio præcipua fuit scribendi. Propter quod miracula et visiones ipsis expositionibus inserere studui. Et quia hoc quibusdam minus placuit, in homiliis de solemnitatibus sanctorum hoc ipsum cavi."

¹⁴ See Schönbach, op. cit.; A. Kaufmann, "Caesarius von Heisterbach," Cologne, 1862; and Herbert, "Catalogue," p. 348.

tionēs, the subjects of which are: Conversion, Contrition, Confession, Temptation, Demons, Simple-mindedness, the Virgin Mary, the Body of Christ, Divers Visions, Miracles, the Dying, and Rewards of the Dead. The large number of stories, 746, purport to have been told, and probably were, by the master ("monachus") to the novice. The stories are connected by a thread of dialogue between the master and pupil. The name of the author is not mentioned, but the reader is told it can be learned from the first letters of the *distinctiones* ("Cæsarii Munus"). "Many things," he says, "have I introduced which happened outside of the order, because they were edifying and told me, like the rest, by religious men (*i. e.*, members of an order). God is my witness that I have not invented (*finxisse*) a single chapter in this Dialogue. If perchance things have happened differently from what I have written, this should be imputed to those who related them to me."

As Herbert remarks, p. 349, "Cæsarius professes to have learnt most of the miracles at first or second hand, and a large proportion of them are connected with Heisterbach, Himmerode, and Cologne, and places in the neighborhood. But in many cases he has merely drawn on the common stock; *e. g.*, in Dist. VIII., Cap. 21 he tells the story of the merciful knight to whom the crucifix bowed, as a miracle which occurred "*temporibus nostris in provincia nostra, sicut audivi*"; but it has been pointed out in this "Catalogue" (Vol. II., p. 665) that the story occurs, as early as the eleventh century, in the Life of the Italian St. John Gualbertus."¹⁵

¹⁵ The sources of the stories in the "Dialogus" have never been systematically investigated, but a brief enumeration of the principal ones may be found in Meister's work, to be mentioned presently. "We know," he says, p. xxxii, "that he was acquainted with the 'Life of Bernard of Clairvaux,' Bernard's 'Life of St. Malachiæ,' the 'Book of Visions of St. Acelina,' Herbert's 'Exordium miraculorum' and 'Liber miraculorum,' and that he used the 'Life of St. David'—all these writings of the Cistercian order. He also drew on the 'Historia Damiatina' and 'Historia regum terræ sanctæ' of Oliver Scholasticus, the 'Dialogues' of Gregory the Great were his model and the 'Vitæ Patrum' were known to him. Most of his stories, however, he owed to oral communication, but all are not new on that account; an old germ lies oftener at bottom. Many of his stories have wandered far before they reached the half hidden cloister of Heisterbach. On this long journey they have worn out their garments and must be clothed anew, so that in their changed exterior it is hard to recognize their weather-beaten figure. Some-

The popularity of the "Dialogus miraculorum," as I have remarked above, was enormous. Its stories were used with or without credit in all subsequent treatises and collections. In the "Alphabet of Tales," which I shall mention again presently, 151 of the 801 stories are from Cæsarius, and some of his tales have found curious enough resting places, one (VIII., 59, see also X., 2) has been shown by P. Rajna in *Romania*, VI., 359, to be the probable source of Boccaccio's fine story of Messer Torello and Saladin ("Decameron," X., 9).

In the list of his writings made by Cæsarius himself (Schönbach, I., pp. 4-69; Meister, pp. xx-xxviii), he mentions under No. 27, "Item scripsi volumen diversarum visionum seu miraculorum libros 8." This work was supposed to have been lost until Professor Marx published in 1856 a fragment of the work containing twenty-three miracles, afterwards reprinted by A. Kaufmann in an appendix to his book on Cæsarius. Later Dr. Aloys Meister discovered two other fragments and published all three under the title "Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Cæsarius von Heisterbach" (in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthums-Kunde und für Kirchen-Geschichte. Dreizehntes Supplementheft*. Rom, 1901). The fragments contain 191 miracles or stories relating to the Sacrament and to the Virgin. They are of time the paths that Cæsarius's stories have trodden will have to be pointed out. Of course one will not go so far as to confine the substance of a story in the straight-jacket of a genealogy and try to trace the exact pedigree of derivation and relation. A story grows and changes mostly through oral tradition, the fixed written forms are often only chance resting stages in the development; many connecting links of oral transformation have frequently been lost between one fixed form and another. For these changes are not logically necessary, but depend upon chances, it may be, that a locality or a half forgotten historical fact caused assimilation, it may be, that a particular object was connected with the transformation or merely the poetic impulse to remolding brought about the change." This is also the conclusion of Schönbach in his paper, "Die Legende vom Engel und Waldbruder" in *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad.*, CXLIII., p. 62. The same writer in his "Studien zur Erzählliteratur, Achter Theil, über Caesarius von Heisterbach," III., undertakes an interesting investigation of the changes which stories undergo in passing from one author to another. He compares the stories which are similar in Caesarius's "Dialogus" and "Homilies" and the stories common to "Jacques de Vitry" and "Étienne de Bourbon," and endeavors to formulate some general principles of transmission.

the same nature as those already published in the "Dialogus," a few are found in both works. There is the same tendency to localize well-known stories, and the same absence of mention of literary sources. The "Vitæ Patrum, Historia ecclesiastica," etc., are occasionally cited, generally the name of the narrator is carefully stated and the locality is exactly described.

Of all the mediæval story-tellers Cæsarius is perhaps the most interesting, partly from his gift of narration, and partly from the diversified character of his stories. In most of the great *exempla*-collections which I shall soon examine, the stories are told in a dry, condensed form, and seem more like memoranda to be expanded at the preacher's will than like independent tales. Cæsarius is a happy exception and his book is one of the most valuable sources for the history of mediæval culture.

While engaged in the study of Jacques de Vitry I learned of the existence in Belgian libraries of a collection of *sermones communes vel quotidiani* by him, but made no effort to trace these, for the author had said in the *proæmium* to the *sermones dominicales* (Antwerp, 1575) that his work was to consist of six divisions, the first four being represented by the *sermones dominicales*, the fifth by the *sermones de sanctis*, and the sixth by the *sermones vulgares*. As it was supposed that all the existing collections of sermons by Jacques de Vitry were written late in life, I did not think that after the *sermones vulgares* which, in his own words, were to complete his work, he would have added anything. It now seems that I was mistaken and that the *sermones communes vel quotidiani* also contain a considerable number of *exempla*, two editions of which, by a strange coincidence, appeared simultaneously three years ago.¹⁶

¹⁶ Greven, Joseph, "Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry," Heidelberg, 1914, 8vo, pp. xviii, 68 (Sammlung mittel-lateinischer Texte herausgegeben, von Alfons Hilka, 9); Frenken, Goswin, "Die Exempla des Jakob von Vitry," Munich, 1914, Lex. 8vo, pp. iv, 152 ("Quellen und Untersuchungen zur mittellateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters," V. 1). As I have reviewed these two editions recently at length in the *Romanic Review*, Vol. VI. (1915), pp. 223 et seq., I shall not enter into details here. I may, however, remark that Greven's edition is part of Hilka's "Sammlung" and is, like the other texts in that collection, edited in the most concise form, with brief introduction, and briefer annotation. Frenken's edition, on the other hand, contains not only a biography of "Jacques de Vitry,"

The new *exempla* (three only are found in the *sermones vulgares*, Crane, Nos. 30, 31, 160) are 107 in number (Frenken has 104, classifying two as anecdotes, and omitting one as not properly an *exemplum*). Three are from the "Vitæ Patrum" and two from Petrus Alfonsus. The great majority are apparently original with Jacques de Vitry, and did not subsequently enter into wide circulation. The new collection is, therefore, of little interest for the question of the diffusion of popular tales, and its value depends on the light it throws on the manners and customs of the times. Among the *exempla* which are found in subsequent collections are some of the most famous of mediæval stories, *e. g.*, Frenken, No. 15, "Aristotle and Alexander's wife;" No. 195, "Monk in Paradise;" No. 68, man unhappily married wants shoot of tree on which another man's two wives have hanged themselves; No. 99, ape on shipboard throws into the sea the ill-gotten gains of a passenger who had cheated pilgrims with false measures and frothy wine; etc. A certain number of stories are taken from natural history, and a few are fables, the best known of the latter being the one of the treaty between the wolf and the sheep, by which the sheep give up their dogs as hostages (also in the *sermones vulgares*, Crane, No. 45).

Of the stories peculiar to Jacques de Vitry some are connected with his experiences in the East, as Frenken, No. 71, a certain Count Josselin married the daughter of an Armenian on condition of letting his beard grow in accordance with the custom of the country. The Count contracts debts which he does not know how to pay. At last he tells his father-in-law that he has pledged his beard for a thousand marks, and if the debt is not paid his beard will have to be cut off. His father-in-law gives him the money rather than have the Count incur the shame of losing his beard; No. 72, Jacques de Vitry knew a certain knight in Acre that had offended a minstrel, who took his revenge by passing off on the knight an ointment which removes the beard instead of preserving the face in good condition; No. 75, Jacques de Vitry heard that a certain Saracen, over sixty years of age, had never been outside of Damascus. The Sulbut most valuable dissertations on the history of *exempla*, the sources of "Jacques de Vitry's" *exempla*, and their penetration into later secular literature. I cannot praise too highly Frenken's admirable editorial work.

tan summoned him and commanded him to remain in the city in the future. As soon as he was forbidden to leave it he longed to go, and gave the Sultan money to permit him to do so; No. 96, a woman of Acre knew excellent remedies for the eyes, so that even Saracens came to her. One day she was in a hurry to hear mass and left the case of a Saracen to her maid, telling her to put such and such medicine in his eyes. The Christian maid determined to blind the Saracen, so she put quicklime in his eye and told him not to open it in three days. A week later, after great pain and copious tears, he was cured, and returned with fee and gifts, greatly to the maid's wonder.

There is another group of stories, the scene of which is laid in Paris in the time of Jacques de Vitry. Some of the most interesting are these: Frenken, No. 80, while Jacques de Vitry was at Paris three youths from Flanders came there and on their way told their purposes: one wanted to be a Parisian theologian (*magister*), the second a Cistercian, the third an "organizator, hystrio et jocularor." J. de V. saw later with his own eyes the realization of their desires; No. 82, I remember, he says, while at Paris that a certain scholar, religious and abstinent, went on a Friday to visit friends near Paris and ate wherever he stopped. His *famulus* at last whispers to him that it is Friday and that he has eaten twice already. His master replies that he had forgotten it. J. de V. remarks that some eat so much that they cannot forget it, but have to say: "*Ventrem meum doleo.*" There are several stories of an ignorant Parisian priest named Maugrinus. In one, Frenken, No. 101, he is called to hear the confession of a certain scholar who speaks in Latin. Maugrinus does not understand him, and calls the servants and tells them that their master is in a frenzy and must be bound. When the scholar recovers he complains to the bishop, who pretends to be ill and sends for Maugrinus to confess him. He, too, speaks Latin, and at every word he utters Maugrinus says, "May the Lord forgive you." At last the bishop cannot restrain his laughter and says, "May the Lord never forgive me, nor will I forgive you," and made him pay a hundred livres or lose his parish. In another story, No. 103, Maugrinus's bishop is in pecuniary straits and feigning to have sore eyes, asks Maugrinus to read certain letters. Maugrinus, who can-

not read, opens the letters and looking them over says that they contain news that the bishop is in need and that Maugrinus will lend him ten marks.

Among the usual monastic diatribes on the other sex is the following story, Frenken, No. 61: J. de V. once passed through a certain city in France, where a ham was hung up in the public square to be given to the one who swore that after a year of married life he did not repent of his bargain. The ham had hung there unclaimed for ten years.

It is now time to pass to the collections of *exempla* which have been published since 1883. Before that date the only collections of *exempla* accessible in modern editions were, as we have seen above, the selections from Étienne de Bourbon made by Lecoy de la Marche, and the Catalan translation of the "Alphabetum narrationum." It was not until ten years later, in 1893, that there appeared a collection of Latin stories composed in Bologna in 1326, and contained in a manuscript in the library of Wolfenbüttel.¹⁷ The sixty-nine stories are accompanied in some cases by moralizations, and contain many classical anecdotes. In these two respects the collection resembles the "Gesta Romanorum," and Oesterley in his edition of that work, p. 257, was inclined to regard the "Tractatus" as a peculiar version of the "Gesta," or at least as an offshoot. This opinion is hardly correct in view of the great differences between the "Tractatus" and the many versions of the "Gesta." It is likely that the former is an independent collection made in Italy in the fourteenth century, and shows the growing fondness for secular elements in works of this kind. Valerius Maximus is the source most frequently cited, but other historians of classical and Christian times are also quoted, as well as Seneca, Augustine, "Vitæ Patrum," Petrus Alfonsus, etc. The compilation has no independent value, and but little interest for the question of the diffusion of popular tales.

I must now, in conclusion, consider as briefly as possible the

¹⁷ "Tractatus de diversis historiis romanorum et quibusdam aliis. Verfasst in Bologna i. J. 1326. Nach einer Handschrift in Wolfenbüttel," herausgegeben von Salomon Herzstein. Erlangen, 1893. In "Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie und vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte," herausgegeben von Hermann Varnhagen. XIV. Heft.

recent editions of collections of *exempla*, beginning with A. G. Little's "Liber Exemplorum ad usum Prædicantium," Aberdeen, 1908 (*British Society of Franciscan Studies*, Vol. I.). The manuscript, in the Library of Durham Cathedral, contains two hundred and thirteen chapters or stories, and belongs to the class of treatises for the use of preachers. It is divided into two parts: the first treats "of things above," and the subjects are arranged in the order of precedence—Christ, the Blessed Virgin, Angels and St. James. The second part treats "of things below," and here the subjects are in alphabetical order: *De accidia, de advocatis, de avaritia*, and so on to *de mortis memoria*, where the MS. breaks off. The author does not mention his name in the part of the MS. which has been preserved, although he gives us considerable information about himself, from which we infer that he was an Englishman by birth, probably of Warwickshire; he probably entered the order of the Friars Minor, and, after study in Paris, spent many years of his life in Ireland. Mr. Little, whom I follow in these details, concludes that the work was written probably between 1275 and 1279. The compiler, who nearly always mentions his sources, draws largely from Giraldus Cambrensis, "Gemma Ecclesiastica" (29 times); "Vitæ Patrum" (38); Gregory's "Dialogues" (15); "Miracles of the Virgin" (4); Peraldus, "Summa Virtutum ac Vitiorm" (10); "Life of Johannes Eleemosynarius" (9); "Barlaam and Josaphat" (2); etc. Many of the stories are familiar to us from other collections. "Some are," as the editor says, "of a more individual character and are the result of the writer's experience in Ireland." Among these (I use the editor's analyses) are: No. 95, the story of the bailiff of Turvey, who while going along a lonely road one night saw a horrible beast coming towards him. Knowing that it was the devil, he made with his axe a circle of crosses, and at once hastened to confess his sins to God. Forthwith there began to rise around him a wall which grew with every sin confessed. Against this wall the devil threw himself in vain, and could only terrify the poor sinner by showing his face over the top.

The duty of paying tithes is enforced by the story (No. 105) of the woman of Balrothery, "in our times," who had twenty lambs. To avoid giving two to the Church, she hid ten under a covering

and gave the Church only one. "But behold the delightful (*iucundissimum*) judgment of Him who seeth all things!" On removing the covering the woman found nine of the lambs dead and only the Church's tenth still alive. Another story (No. 166) shows the efficacy of indulgences. A man follows two friars on a preaching tour in Ulster and buys all the indulgences he can afford. He afterwards sells these to the host with whom he has passed the night, for what he paid and a pot of beer in addition. The purchaser applies the indulgences to the relief of his dead son, who appears in a vision to his father and tells him that he has freed him from punishment. The foolish seller hearing of this tries in vain to get back his efficacious indulgences by refunding the money he had received for them. A very interesting story (No. 142) of superstition in times of epidemics is told by the Bishop of Clonmacnois. "When I was a preacher in the order (O. M.), I once came on a preaching tour to Connaught, and found a dreadful pestilence raging in the bishopric of Clonfort. For when men went ploughing or otherwise in the fields, or walking in the woods, they used to see armies of devils passing by, and sometimes fighting among themselves. All who saw these devils fell sick and most of them died. So I got together a great meeting, and said to the people: 'Do you know why these devils have this power over you? Simply because you are afraid of them. If you had faith in God and were convinced that He would protect you, they would have no power over you at all. You know that we—we friars—do more against the devils, and say more things about them than any one else in the world. Here am I standing here and abusing them as much as I know how. Do they harm me? Let the devils come, let them all come! Where are they? Why don't they come?' From that hour the devils disappeared and the pestilence with them."

Two other stories from this collection must receive brief notice. One (No. 112) tells the story of a rich widow with many suitors. She preferred a certain one but tells him frankly that his poverty stands in the way of his acceptance. He goes out into the highway and robs and murders a rich merchant. When he again claims the lady's hand she demands an account of his wealth, and after hearing his confession of its source, commands him to

pass a night at the spot where the murdered man lies. There he beholds the dead man stretch his hands to heaven and implore justice. A voice declares that he shall be revenged in thirty years. The lady thinking that the murderer will certainly repent before that time marries him. He and his family flourish and penance is postponed. The fated day comes at last and a great feast is given to which are invited all whom he has no cause to fear. A minstrel is admitted, but a wag rubs the strings of his fiddle with grease and the minstrel withdraws in confusion. When he has gone some distance he finds that he has left his glove. He returns and discovers that the castle has disappeared, and where it once stood is a fountain and near it his glove. This story was told by Friar Hugo de Succone in a sermon preached in foreign parts. He said he told it as he had heard it, without vouching for it. One of his hearers said: "Brother, you can tell this story with assurance, for I know the place where it happened." Mr. Little cites two curious Welsh parallels in Rhys, "Celtic Folklore," pp. 73, and 403.

The second story (No. 192) occurs in the chapter "*De ludis inordinatis*," and refers to a curious custom in Dacia, related by a certain friar Peter, who was from that country. When women are in childbed their neighbors come to assist them with dancing and singing. Sometimes in carrying out their jokes they make a straw man and put on it a hood and girdle, calling it "*bovi*" and dragging it between two women. At times they cry out to it, "*gestu lascivo*," "*Canta bovi, canta bovi, quid faceret?*" (sic, *l. facis?* or *taces?*). Once the devil answered from the image with such a terrible voice, "I shall sing," that some of the women fell down dead. Mr. Little remarks that "there is no reason to doubt the English friar's report. The story agrees with the '*Konebarsel*' or '*Kvindegilde*' custom: a party of women gathering in a house after a birth. The women drink themselves merry, then they dance, then they go in a rout and break into houses and revel along the street, and make every man dance with them, and take the breeches off him, or in more recent times more frequently the hat." The various elements of our story are well known in Danish folklore, but the straw man at the lying-in-revels is elsewhere unknown.

In many respects the most important of recent publications of

exempla-collections is another work also of English origin, which I shall mention slightly out of its chronological order because, like the one just described above, it is a treatise for the use of preachers, arranged in an alphabetical order. In 1886 while collecting material for the history of the use of *exempla* in mediæval sermons which serves as an introduction to my "Jacques de Vitry," Mr. Ward of the British Museum called my attention to MS. Additional 11284, formerly in the possession of the well-known antiquary Mr. W. J. Thoms, containing an extensive collection of stories arranged alphabetically according to topics. I later ("Jacques de Vitry," p. lxxii) called attention to the importance of this collection in the hope that it might soon find an editor. It was not, however, until the publication in 1910 of the third volume of the "Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum," by Mr. Herbert, that the rich contents of the MS. were made adequately known to students of mediæval literature, and it was reserved for a French scholar, Mr. J. Th. Welter, to publish the MS. *in extenso*.¹⁸

The attribution of the "Speculum Laicorum" to John of Hoveden, the chaplain of Queen Eleanor and the author of "Philomela," first made by Bale in his "Catalogus," 1548, rests on no adequate ground, while the denial of his authorship, because the work contains mention of the reign of Henry IV. (Hoveden having

¹⁸ It is true that in my edition of "Jacques de Vitry" I cited several MSS. in the British Museum containing the "Speculum Laicorum" without suspecting its true title. My excuse must be that the principal MS. (Additional 11284), which formerly belonged to Mr. Thoms, contains no indication of the true title (nor does it appear in the official catalogue), and the same is true of the other MSS. which I used. Neither Mr. Thoms nor Mr. Thomas Wright, who printed stories from this MS., was aware of the true title of the collection from which they were taken. The title of Mr. Welter's edition is: "Thesaurus Exemplorum. Fascicule V: Le Speculum Laicorum. Édition d'une collection d'exempla composée en Angleterre à la fin du XIII^e siècle," Paris, 1914. The first four fascicules have not yet appeared, but the author has informed me that they are composed as follows: Fasc. I., Inventory of the three thousand anecdotes of "Étienne de Bourbon" from the MS. Lat. 15970 of the Bib. Nat., with indication of sources (Complement to A. Lecoy de la Marche, "Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon," Paris, 1877); Fasc. II., Inventory of the "Liber de dono timoris" of Humbert de Romans, and of the "Promptuarium exemplorum" of Martinus Polonus; Fasc. III., "Liber exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti"; Fasc. IV., MS. Royal 7 D. i, of the British Museum.

died in 1272 or 1275), is based on the mistake of a scribe who wrote Henry IV. for Henry III. Mr. Welter shows conclusively that the work must have been written between 1279 and 1292. The author purposely conceals his identity, "*nomina siquidem nostra subticere me compulit malorum ipsa mater invidia*," a statement that would hardly apply to so well-known a writer as John of Hoveden. From the character of his compilation the anonymous author may with reason be supposed to have been a member of the Mendicant Orders, probably an English Franciscan.

The "*Speculum Laicorum*" is, in reality, a theological treatise for the use of preachers, arranged alphabetically according to topics and containing a great number of illustrative stories. In Welter's edition there are ninety topics or chapters, and five hundred and seventy-nine stories, besides thirty others found in various MSS. of the work in the British Museum and elsewhere. The composition of the collection does not differ from that of the host of similar works, both manuscript and printed, found in European libraries. Two hundred and fifteen stories are taken from: Gregory's "*Dialogues*" (25), "*Vitæ Patrum*" (101), "*Cassiodorus*," "*Hist. Tripart.*" (24), Bede (6), Petrus Alfonsus (5), William of Malmsbury (5), Petrus Cluniacensis (11), Cæsarius Heisterbacensis (5), "*Physiologus*" (8), "*Miracles de N. D.*" (24), while the various tales are found seven hundred and fifty-eight times in: Jacques de Vitry (47), Odo of Cheriton (75), Arundel MS. 3244 (59), Étienne de Bourbon (273), "*Liber de Dono Timoris*" (72), "*Liber Exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti*" (42), MS. Royal 7 D. i (85), and "*Legenda Aurea*" (58). In addition to these a great number of lives of the saints have been used, as well as many mediæval works of an historical character.

If the collection contained merely stories taken from well-known popular sources, it would be interesting as affording evidence of the extensive diffusion of stories through the medium of preachers; but the collector has added, as he says in the Prologue, "*temporumque preteritorum ac modernorum quibusdam eventis*." It is true, as the editor remarks, that the compiler, contrary to the custom of Jacques de Vitry or Étienne de Bourbon, has drawn few stories from his personal experience. He introduces the *exemplum*, sometimes by

"fertur" or "legitur," sometimes without any preamble, localizing it in time and space, *i. e.*, in the thirteenth century and in the east of England, exceptionally in a foreign land. Still, as the editor says, the compiler has transmitted to us certain new features relating to great personages and others, and permits us to form a condensed sketch of the manners of the day, "qui se reflètent plus ou moins fidèlement dans ce miroir des laics."

The enormous extent of *exempla*-literature may be estimated from the hundred and nine manuscript collections in the British Museum alone (so admirably analyzed by Mr. Herbert in his "Catalogue"), which contain something like eight thousand stories. A few of the typical collections, as, for example, the "Alphabetum Narrationum," were frequently copied, and are found in many of the continental libraries. But, in the main, no two collections are alike, and each represents the individual fancy of the compiler. Very few of these collections have been published, but some have long attracted the attention of scholars. Among these the most interesting is a collection contained in a MS. in the Library of Tours, of which an incomplete version is in the University Library of Bonn. Both MSS. are of the fifteenth century, but the collection itself goes back to the second half of the thirteenth century, and was probably made by a Dominican monk well acquainted with the French provinces of Touraine, Maine and Anjou. Dr. Hilka, the able editor of the "Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte," communicated a considerable number of the *exempla* in the Tours MS. to the Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur, in whose ninetieth annual report they were printed (1912). The *exempla* collections are in a comparatively few instances arranged alphabetically; sometimes they assume the character of treatises of theology and are disposed according to subjects. In the Tours MS. alone, I believe, the stories are arranged in nine groups, under the heads of classes and professions. The number of *exempla* is very large; there are four hundred and ten in the eighth group, which deals with secular and civil society. The *exempla* themselves are of great value for the question of the diffusion of popular tales as they contain a large number of stories which belong to the most widely circulated class. The stories are sometimes told at great length, contrary to the usual

abbreviated form of the *exemplum*, and some deal with themes not hitherto represented in sermon-book literature; one, No. XI., p. 13, belongs to the cycle of the "Maiden with her hands cut off," of which a version is found in the "Scala Celi," fol. 27 vo., "Castitas," and another has been published by Klapper in a work to be mentioned presently; another, No. XII., *a.b.*, pp. 14, 15, contains versions of the theme of the "False Bride"; in the first version the wife substitutes in her place a maiden, whose finger the faithless bailiff cuts off; in the second, the wife kills the seneschal to whose care she has been entrusted, substitutes for herself a maidservant whom she subsequently kills, and is miraculously saved from the denunciation of wicked confessor.

The last collections of *exempla* recently published which I shall mention are two works containing extensive selections from manuscripts in German libraries, more particularly those in the Royal and University Library of Breslau. Both are edited by Dr. Joseph Klapper of the city just mentioned, and were published, the first in Hilka's "Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte," No. 2 ("Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters"), Heidelberg, 1911; the second in "Wort und Brauch. Volkskundliche Arbeiten namens der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde," in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Theodor Siebs und Prof. Dr. Max Hippe, 12 Heft ("Erzählungen des Mittelalters in deutscher Übersetzung und lateinischen Urtext"), Breslau, 1914.

These works contain respectively 115 and 211 *exempla*, in all 326 stories, the largest contribution to the subject yet made by any one editor, and one of the most interesting. The many manuscripts from which the editor has drawn range from the end of the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century. The editor thus states the principle of selection in his first work: "Only those stories were admitted which are found in the manuscripts without any mention of their sources, or the sources of which are no longer known to us." There are exceptions, however, as p. 76, No. 76, "Legitur exemplum in libro de dono timoris." The editor concedes that the investigator can easily discover the sources of some of the *exempla*, and analogues for others. He gives a few himself, but in general limits his remarks to the age and origin of the MSS. in which the

exempla are contained. Finally, he admits that certain stories, properly speaking, are not *exempla*, as they are taken from *chronicles*, but claims that they belong to this selection since they contain materials encountered in *exempla*, e. g., No. 7, "Amicus et Amelius."

Dr. Klapper's second collection is taken largely (164 stories) from a single manuscript and may be dated about the end of the thirteenth century. The group of stories just mentioned was evidently made for the use of preachers, but are not arranged in any systematic manner, alphabetical or topical. The editor thinks that traces of the use of such systematic collections may be found in the manuscript from which the majority of stories are taken. There are small groups of stories devoted to the miracles of the Virgin, penance, confession, temptation, liberality, justice, avarice, and drunkenness. What collections were used it is impossible to say, but the miracles of the Virgin resemble closely those in a MS. of the British Museum, Additional 18929 (Ward's "Catalogue," Vol. II., p. 656), which came from the monastery of St. Peter at Erfurt. Dr. Klapper thinks we must assume the existence at that spot, at the end of the thirteenth century, of a collection of miracles of the Virgin used by Middle German Dominicans and probably put together by them, from which the London collection and most of the miracles in the collection before us are derived.

As I have already said the literary form of the *exemplum* differs considerably in the various collections. Sometimes the story is an independent tale of some length, sometimes it is (notably in the systematic treatises for the use of preachers) the merest sketch, to be expanded and adorned at the will of the preacher. Both of Klapper's collections (although the *exempla* were undoubtedly intended originally for use in sermons) contain almost exclusively stories of the former class. It is only necessary to compare these *exempla* with those in the "Speculum Laicorum" to see the great difference between the two classes. Dr. Klapper's first collection as we have just seen contained only such stories as were quoted without specification of source, or the source of which is no longer known to us at the present time. The second collection, now under consideration, is taken, as has been said, largely from one manuscript, and the stories are given just as they occur in it. Curiously

enough, they are generally without indication of source. About twenty-seven stories contain mention of source, not always correctly. The "*Vitæ Patrum*" is cited seven times (once incorrectly), but in fact twenty-two *exempla* are from that famous work. There are fifty-one stories or miracles of the Virgin, with one citation of source: "*Legitur in miraculis beate Marie.*" St. Gregory's "*Dialogues*" are mentioned once, and a few "*chronicles*" and "*histories*" have been used. It is easy to find sources and analogues for many of the stories, and I have done so in my review of the work in *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1917. I need not repeat here what I have said at length there, but I cannot refrain from again calling attention to the unusually interesting character of this collection. It contains many of the best-known mediæval tales, such as: Longfellow's "*King Robert of Sicily*," "*Beatrice the Nun who saw the World*," "*Theophilus*," "*The Angel and Hermit*," "*Amis and Amiles*," "*Fridolin*," Chaucer's "*Pardoner's Tale*," etc. Among the stories rarely found in *exempla* literature is a version of the "*Don Juan*" legend, in which a drunkard passing through a cemetery invites a skull to sup with him. It comes with its body in terrible shape, and in turn invites the host to sup with him in a week in the place where he was found. The guest goes there and is carried by a whirlwind to a deserted castle, and given a seat in a gloomy corner at a wretchedly served table. The host tells his story, how he was a judge neglectful of his office and bibulous. He urges his guest to return home and do good works. One of the most beautiful of the stories is that of the daughter of a heathen king who saw a fair flower in the garden and began to reflect how much more beautiful must be the creator of all flowers. She is betrothed to a youth and on her wedding day asks permission to go into the garden and worship the god of flowers. An angel appears to her and carries her away to a convent in a Christian land, where she spends the rest of her life as a nun. I do not know of any parallel among mediæval *exempla*, although the theme "*Marienbräutigam*" is widely spread and was used by Mérimée in his story "*La Vénus d'Ille*." The story was early known in Germany, and a *Volkslied* on the subject was in circulation as early as 1658.

I have kept for the conclusion of my paper two works of popu-

larization. The first is by the late Dr. Jacob Ulrich, professor in the university of Zurich, "Proben der lateinischen Novellistik des Mittelalters," Leipzig, 1906. The editor's object is to give the student a selection from mediæval fiction, embracing fables, translations of the Oriental story-books, and a considerable number of *exempla* from the "Gesta Romanorum," Jacques de Vitry, Étienne de Bourbon and the collection of Tours as cited by Lecoy de la Marche in his "Étienne de Bourbon." Ulrich has given brief references to the individual stories, and furnished a work of value to the student beginning his researches in this fascinating field. I am surprised that the book is not better known.

The second work to which I have referred is by Albert Wesselski, "Mönchslatein, Erzählungen aus geistlichen Schriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts," Leipzig, 1909. The unfortunate title gives no idea of the contents of this handsome volume. It really contains a German translation of one hundred and fifty-four *exempla*, of which ten are from Wright's "Latin Stories," eight from Bromyard's "Summa Prædicatorum," twenty-six from Cæsarius, eighteen from Étienne de Bourbon, seven from the "Gesta Romanorum," six from Herolt's "Sermones" and "Promptuarium," thirty-six from "Jacques de Vitry," twenty-two from the "Mensa Philosophica," and the rest from Odo of Cheriton, Vincent of Beauvais, Nicolaus Pergamenus, Thomas Cantimpratus, etc. There is an introduction of no original value, and the individual *exempla* are accompanied by extensive notes, which constitute the most important feature of the work. The contents are more varied than is the case with Klapper's second collection, and greater stress is laid on anecdotes and jests.

I have not space to refer in detail to the extensive use of *exempla* during the last thirty-four years in tracing the diffusion of popular tales. The articles in which *exempla* are so employed must be sought in the periodicals devoted to popular literature or in the collected writings of Benfey, Köhler, W. Hertz, and others.

It is perhaps too soon to be able to speak with authority upon the value of *exempla* for "Kulturgeschichte" (history, superstitions, etc.), and comparative storyology. Much yet remains to be edited, and what is accessible has not yet been closely examined from the

above points of view. Many important questions have not yet been settled, such as, why references to fairy tales are so infrequent, etc. Enough has been said, however, to show the general interest and importance of the subject, and it is to be hoped that American scholars may find in it an additional field for their labor.¹⁹

ITHACA, N. Y.,
March, 1917.

¹⁹ A good illustration of the value of the Sermon-Books for general mediæval history may be found in the admirable article by Professor Charles H. Haskins of Harvard University on "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century" in *The American Historical Review*, vol. X (1905), pp. 1-27. In the course of his paper Professor Haskins calls attention to the interesting fact that Harvard University Library possesses a manuscript of Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares* which was once the property of the monastery of St. Jacques at Liège (MS. Riant 35).